Multicultural And International Education: Never The Twain Shall Meet?

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By

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The paper commences with an attempt to define multicultural education (also referred to as intercultural education) with reference to its historical development and current uses of the term. The rise of international schools is then addressed as a necessary preamble to a definition of international education from an historical perspective; a comparison with multicultural education sharpens the definition. The author goes on to propose that intercultural understanding is a principal, common objective of multicultural and international education and should serve to bring together scholars and practitioners in both fields whereas the literature and practice shows them, by and large, operating independently with little reference, one to the other. Greater collaboration can only be of mutual benefit in achieving common objectives and improving practice. The paper concludes with some suggestions for collaborative research across both fields.

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Introduction
The purpose of this paper is to bridge the gap which exists between researchers and practitioners in the fields of multicultural education and international education. These two disciplines have grown independently and from two quite different angles. Multicultural education is anchored in state systems of education and seeks to respond to the needs of migrant children, generally representing a lower socio-economic section of the community. International education is historically linked to the international school movement catering principally for the children of diplomats, UN personnel, and employees of international companies as they move around the world; for this reason, international education has often been described as elitist. Although today, as this paper will indicate, international education is practised in many national schools, both state and independent, a sense of exclusiveness lingers on.

The discussion commences with an attempt to define multicultural education and the closely synonymous term intercultural education from an historical perspective and with regard to current usage of the terms. This paper adopts the term "multicultural education" rather than "intercultural education." The rise of international schools is then addressed in order to situate historically the emergence of international education. UNESCO's definition of this concept, for implementation in national education systems, is explored together with reference to the International Baccalaureate Organization's mission statement, as an example of international programmes of education in practice. The international education section terminates with a visual representation of national, multicultural and international education in an attempt to sharpen the distinctions (in terms of typologies) but at the same time to show how national and international education have been merging over time.

The paper goes on to propose that intercultural understanding is a major, common aim of both multicultural and international education and that it has the potential to unite scholars and practitioners from both fields. Concluding comments urge for much more interaction in research and practice between multicultural and international education, and some suggestions for collaborative research to the mutual benefit of each are made.

Defining multicultural education
Initially multicultural education was predicated on a belief that the dominant national culture was the proper one and that cultures represented by immigrants were not beneficial to their life in a new country or to the country itself. This was the underlying premise of the "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education" published in the US in 1918 (Chapman & Hobbel 2005 p297). It was a policy response which sought to assimilate, "remediate," and align immigrants with the mainstream culture and suppress their own. A new approach to multicultural education resulted from the US civil rights movement of the 1960s and 70s (Banks 1992 p871) but it took until the 1980s for this to become widely accepted. Ethnic studies was the first phase of multiculturalism and it sought to include varying cultural perspectives and the "struggles, dreams and realities" (Banks 1996 p40 quoted in Chapman & Hobbel 2005 p297) of marginalized groups. Both in the US and across the Atlantic in Europe, the cultural resources of a plural society began to be seen as advantageous for the education of all

children. "Sensitivity to the valued ways of life of other people" (Walkling 1990 p84, published in the UK) replaced policies of assimilation with social integration via intercultural understanding - a two-way process.

Because in both Europe and the US, children of colour (and immigrants generally) were associated with poverty and unemployment, the concept of multicultural education or "multiculturalism" widened to embrace a mandate of social reconstruction for communities whose diversity went beyond, but was linked to, culture and language: equality of educational opportunity for minority groups, disenfranchised youth, girls, and students with disabilities. National education systems launched into "prejudice-reduction activities" (Banks 1992 p 871) such as hiring more black teachers in the US, providing extra assistance to learn the national language, utilising the changed social structure of schools so that the "ethnic, racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the learners [were] not perceived as obstacles but as necessary catalysts for learning" (Mushi 2004 p183). This meant addressing the educational issues of a multicultural group holistically (Walkling 1990 p82), not as separate responses for each ethnic group since the latter leads to cultural ghettoes. Multicultural education was a political response to the issues posed by plural societies. Multicultural education succeeds when the individual is no longer suspicious of those who are different from his or her own experience, when the individual is comfortable with the notion that "different" does not mean "worse" or "better".

Multicultural education is usually equated with intercultural education and manifests itself in national settings via such terms (which vary from country to country) and activities as migrant education, bilingual education, immersion programmes, minority education, and community education (Husén & Postlethwaite 1994b, p3961). Usage is not, however, consistent. "[Multicultural education] is also known as multiracial [and] multiethnic… education (particularly in the USA), and 'intercultural education' (particularly in a European context)" remarked Walkling (1990 p82).

A perusal of the books, journals, conferences and literature on multicultural or intercultural education do indicate that the terms "multicultural education" and "intercultural education" are interchangeable even though the words "multicultural" and "intercultural" are not necessarily the same (see below). So the observations of Husén & Postlethwaite and Walkling seem to confirm the practice. Troutman *et. al.* (1998, p166) define intercultural education as the concept that all students, "regardless of their gender, social class and their ethnic, racial or social characteristics, should have an equal opportunity to learn in school." This is from the *European Journal of Intercultural Education*, now called *Intercultural Education*, which

> is a global forum for the analysis of issues dealing with education in plural societies… Topics covered include: terminological issues, education and multicultural society today, intercultural communication, human rights and anti-racist education, pluralism and diversity in a democratic frame work, pluralism in post-communist and in post-colonial countries, migration and indigenous minority issues, refugee issues, language policy issues, curriculum and classroom organisation, and school development. (*Intercultural Education* 2006).

This journal is published by the "International Association for Intercultural Education" whose headquarters are in Belgium. Batelaan (1994, p125), an executive member of this association at the time, defined "intercultural education … as the educational consequence of democratic principles in multicultural societies. Education is intercultural when it deals with issues of both diversity and inequality." These definitions and the topics covered in *Intercultural Education*, all European-based, are the same as those above by Banks, Chapman & Hobbel, and Mushi, all USA writers. Interestingly, the title of the latter's paper in *Intercultural*

Education is "Multicultural competencies in teaching: a typology of classroom activities." This shows that the journal itself accepts both terms, even when, in this particular case, Fennes & Hapgood (see below) might argue that it is "intercultural" (stressing the process of interaction) competencies which are necessary in a multicultural context.

The "National Association for Multicultural Education" has its headquarters in Maryland, USA (NAME 2006). The "Canadian Multicultural Education Foundation" publishes a journal entitled *Multicultural Perspectives* (CMEF 2006). The education department of New South Wales (Australia 2006) provides "Multicultural education programs and services … for schools in the following areas: anti-racism, English as a second language, cultural understanding and community relations, community capacity building, refugee support programs …" A collection of papers from a multicultural education conference held at the University of Indonesia, Depok, were published under the title *Multicultural Education in Indonesia and Southeast Asia: Stepping into the Unfamiliar* (Sunarto *et al* 2004). It is worth noting that "multicultural education" was chosen as the global term in the title of the authoritative *Multicultural Education: An International Guide to Research, Policies, and Programs* (Mitchell & Salisbury 1996) which examines advances in multicultural education in 42 countries on all continents where "highly diversified, pluralistic peoples … cry out for recognition and dignity." This was followed by the *Encyclopedia of Multicultural Education* by the same authors (Mitchell & Salisbury 1999), both from a USA university. Thus far these examples support the preference for the term "multicultural education" in the rest of the world outside of Europe (Walkling 1990 p82). However, the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research "the world's largest interdisciplinary network for students and professionals working in the field of intercultural communication" (SIETR 2006) belies any effort to determine the nomenclature geographically. Particularly as this society was founded in the USA in 1974 using the term "intercultural education" and that it now has branch organizations in four parts of the USA, six European countries, and Japan. One last example is the impressive collection of papers to be found in *Multicultural education: the interminable debate* (Modgil *et al* 1986) produced in the UK and edited by three UK university staff. So Europe does not confine itself only to the term "intercultural education."

A distinction between two related terms was made at a conference in Dubrovnik in May 2000 on redefining cultural identities. Multiculturalism was seen as a "conceptual and policy response to cultural diversity in a region or state [whereas] interculturalism stresses communication and general interaction among cultures" (Cvjeticanin 2000, p4). This view had been previously supported by the International Bureau of Education (Geneva, UNESCO) when it used similar definitions in a questionnaire to member countries prior to their representation at the 42nd International Conference on Education in 1990 (Dasen *et al* 1994, p109). Fennes & Hapgood (1997 p40) use the term "multicultural" to describe a situation which has a diversity of cultures and "intercultural" to indicate "the interaction of and relationship between different cultural groups in a multicultural setting." Hence intercultural understanding is important if multicultural groups are to live and work together, whether this is within or without national borders. "Multicultural" describes more the nature of a collection of people whereas "intercultural" emphasizes the process of reactions between different cultures. Intercultural understanding is the main pedagogical tool of multicultural education which is "directed towards the constructive integration of children of migrants" (Fennes & Hapgood 1997 p40). Intercultural understanding is also the main pedagogical tool of international education, to be discussed later.

Several writers have proposed stages of multicultural education over time which Chapman & Hobbel (2005 p299) have expressed in a continuum. Figure 1 is an adaptation of their work and shows the progression from assimilation prior to the 1960s through to positive acceptance of pluralism today. It starts from a monocultural perspective, then tolerance of cultural differences (that is, "my culture is right but I tolerate others"), moving to acceptance of some individual cultures, and finally reaching respect for all cultural diversity – the objective of multicultural education. While Chapman & Hobbel's typologies of multicultural education show a general progression of open-ness over time they also represent levels of intercultural understanding which have been attained to different degrees in various parts of the world today. In addition to being time-related they are also a current measure of how far different peoples have come along the continuum to embrace and understand cultural diversity.

INSERT Figure 1 here

The intercultural and multicultural education movements will be taken as synonymous for the purposes of this paper although there are shades of emphasis in the words "intercultural" and "multicultural". During the remainder of the discussion the term "multicultural education" will be used to include intercultural education whilst the concept of "intercultural understanding" will be developed as the principal means by which the issues of cultural diversity at the local, national and international levels, are addressed.

The rise of international schools
Goormaghtigh (1989 p2) traces the origins of international education back to the seventeenth century and Comenius' proposal of a *Collegium Lucis*, a universal academy, an international ministry of education in which all nations would be represented. The famous developmental psychologist Jean Piaget (1957, quoted in Goormaghtigh 1989 p3), director from 1929 until 1967 of the intergovernmental International Bureau of Education in Geneva, recognised that Comenius was a pioneer of modern attempts at world collaboration in the fields of education, science and culture. Comenius, himself a teacher, wanted scholars and students from different nations to study together in an institution, benefiting from their cultural diversity. In the eighteenth century the idea of cognitive and affective education through travel was portrayed in Voltaire's *Micromégas* (1752) where the protagonist of the same name travelled from planet to planet to develop his mind and his heart. Then, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a combination of these two ideas was promulgated by none other than Charles Dickens (1864, quoted in Sylvester 2002 pp7-8). In an article entitled "International Education", Dickens outlined plans for a series of international schools across Europe. Students would spend a year or so rotating amongst the network of schools which offered "precisely the same" arrangement of classes, study methods, and curriculum. In this way the students could learn other languages and experience other cultures while their education continued uninterrupted.

In 1865 an International Education Society was founded in London with those same aims; it counted amongst its members the scientist T.H. Huxley and some educators from other European countries. In 1866 the society opened London College near Hounslow (the site is close to Heathrow airport) and some 100 students enrolled there for their secondary education. They were to spend time in a school in France, then Germany, then Italy, learning other languages and following the same curriculum. The school closed in 1889 and it is

unclear whether the students did rotate and how successfully the school fulfilled its aims. Records show that a number of nationalities were enrolled although the majority were English. Sylvester (2002 pp10-14) has called this the "first" international school and notes that some isolated attempts followed in places such as West Bengal, the USA and Denmark in the early 1900s.

It was not, however, until after the First World War that international schools were created for a different reason: to respond to the demands of an increasingly internationally mobile population in embassies, international companies, and working for organizations such as the International Labour Office (founded in 1919) and the League of Nations (established in 1920), both in Geneva. Moreover the parents in those Geneva organisations, and (after the Second World War) the United Nations and its agencies in different countries, wanted an education which reflected the ideals of their employers: an education for peace, intercultural understanding, respect for human dignity, and knowledge about international issues. In this way, the post-First World War international schools also shared some of the idealistic aims of their predecessors but their student populations, rather than travelling around a number of "identical" schools, gained their intercultural and linguistic experiences within the one school where cultural diversity was the norm. These students did, in fact, move around the world but for the pragmatic reason that their parents changed locations every few years, not as part of a pedagogical exchange programme organized by the schools.

From the 1920s these new schools grew in number and had sufficiently similar characteristics (independent, fee-paying, with students of many nationalities and a number of teachers recruited abroad) for them to become noticeable as a movement. Most taught exclusively in English, but there were exceptions such as the International School of Geneva founded in 1924 which used both English and French as languages of instruction. In 1949 the first association, under the auspices of UNESCO, was formed to bring schools together across the world. It was initially called "The Conference of Principals of International Schools" but most of its members were heads of national schools seeking to introduce a world perspective into their studies so it was renamed the Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools from 1951. The first organisation to bring together the growing number of schools described above was the International Schools Association (ISA) founded also at the UNESCO Paris headquarters in 1951. Its purpose was to facilitate cooperation amongst these schools in curriculum development, recognition of student achievement across national frontiers, teacher training, and administration. For more information on this earlier period and international school associations see Hill (2001a, 2001b).

The origins of international education are inextricably linked with these international schools where intercultural understanding (a common aim) is facilitated through students of diverse cultures cohabiting within the one institutional setting. The definition of an international school has been discussed over many years. A suggested description of types of schools (including international schools) which takes into account much of the debate is to be found in Hill (2000). This writer defines international schools as independent institutions charging tuition fees or offering scholarships and catering specifically for students of many nationalities, some of whom will be transient; the educational programme is usually different from that of the host country and English is the main language of instruction in most institutions. International schools are strategically placed around the globe where intergovernmental agencies, embassies, or private companies are clustered. In an international school the term "foreign" has no meaning. The majority are "market driven" schools which

also become "ideology driven" in terms of international education objectives (Matthews 1988 p83-84). The ten United World Colleges around the world, on the other hand, are uniquely "ideology-driven" and are not geographically located in catchment areas for internationally mobile parents. They bring together students from many countries in boarding facilities without their parents in quite isolated sites (for the most part) and encourage the students, at the local and international levels, to become responsible citizens, committed to peace, justice, understanding and cooperation. This international school context determined the nature of international education.

The first qualification specifically designed for international schools, although it later attracted both state and private national schools in large numbers, was the international baccalaureate (IB) diploma. An important pedagogical aspect surfaced from experience in the culturally diverse settings of international schools. Teachers and students noticed the multiplicity of views on any one issue. What seemed irrefutable in the reassuring confines of one's own national perspective was challenged by students from other cultures. This was particularly true of history. Teachers quickly realised that students must be taught critical thinking skills: an open-minded approach, suspending judgment, considering different view points, deliberately seeking out opinions which are contrary to one's own, researching the reasons (cultural, historical, social, economic, and so on) why certain positions have been adopted, willingness to retreat from an advanced opinion in the face of compelling argument, not accepting statements at face value. In this way critical reflection was an important pedagogical element of international education from the beginning of the IB diploma programme. It is to be noted that critical reflection can operate in a national or international setting and figures quite prominently today in the educational programmes of a number of countries.

This writer's definition of international education in the next section is influenced by the curriculum documents and practice of the 1,800 IB schools (in 2006), of which 50% are now state schools with no tuition fees, across 122 countries.

Defining international education
Kieran James has brought a laudable degree of conceptual clarity to the definition of international education and other terms which bear a relationship with it. He has been careful to emphasize intercultural understanding as a main component of international understanding – the aim of international education. He rightly points out that there is no implicit connection between nationality and culture. Most nations have a degree of cultural diversity but not all of their residents have the skills of intercultural understanding for these peoples to live easily together. Moreover a new transnational cultural identity amongst elites may be taking shape (James 2005 p321-2). "Third culture kids" (Useem & Downie 1976) are an example at an international level but there is also an interconnectedness between varied national cultures, including those of immigrants, assisted by multicultural education initiatives within countries.

"International" literally means "between nations." Nations are political entities not necessarily representing any one ethnicity. Although in most cases there is one very dominant culture and language, there are a number of countries where this is not so. Switzerland and Singapore have four official languages. Many African countries have a former colonial official language but the daily lives of the majority of the population take place in one or more local languages of diverse ethnic groups. The growth of Hispanic immigrants has modified the educational, social, cultural, linguistic, political, and economic landscape of the

USA. There is virtually no national school system which does not have a number of students representing different cultures. International education, despite its literal meaning, cannot ignore the importance of intercultural understanding within nations. This is more likely to occur in state or national private schools than in international schools. The skills of intercultural understanding are similar whether we are addressing cultural differences within or across nations but traditionally they stem from two different types of education: multicultural, aimed at national students and immigrants, and international, aimed initially at students moving around the world in international schools (but increasingly found in "internationally-minded" national schools).

This writer agrees with James that the aims of international education are not exclusively related to affairs between nations (the content of international relations courses in higher education) and that the emphasis is on intercultural understanding both between and within countries. This concept was, in fact, very present in the original UNESCO 1974 "Recommendation on Education for International Understanding" which stated seven guiding principles for the education policy of all nations:

    (a) an international dimension and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms;
    (b) understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations;
    (c) awareness of the increasing global interdependence between peoples and nations;
    (d) abilities to communicate with others;
    (e) awareness not only of the rights but also of the duties incumbent upon individuals, social groups and nations towards each other;
    (f) understanding of the necessity for international solidarity and cooperation;
    (g) readiness on the part of the individual to participate in solving the problems of his community, his country and the world at large (UNESCO 1974 p148)

Principle (b) refers to the promotion of intercultural understanding at the international and intra-national levels. The document went on to urge the teaching of the reciprocal influences of different cultures and of foreign languages and civilisations "as a means of promoting international and intercultural understanding." In terms of pedagogical advice it advocated "an interdisciplinary, problem-oriented content adapted to the complexity of the issues involved in the application of human rights and in international cooperation" (UNESCO 1974 p 150).

Nevertheless, what differentiates international education from multicultural education or other aspects of an intrinsically national system are features which go beyond the borders of countries. In terms of the UNESCO definition above, (a), (c), and (f) are uniquely international while (b), (d), (e) and (g) also have national and local application. International education is for all students, not just those in international schools. As such, it has aspects which are common to national education systems (including their multicultural education programmes), together with other distinguishing features which relate specifically to a global context. It is to be noted that the education proposed by UNESCO is for all nation states and the day this becomes a reality everywhere there will be no distinction between national and international education. The distinguishing feature of international education is the study of issues which have application beyond national borders and to which the competencies of intercultural understanding, critical thinking and collaboration are applied in order to shape attitudes which will be conducive to mutual respect and global sustainable development for the future of the human race.

The IB Organization's (2003) mission statement identifies the fundamental knowledge, skills and attitudes that its international education programmes seeks to develop:

The International Baccalaureate Organization aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect. To this end the IBO works with schools, governments and international organizations to develop challenging programmes of international education and rigorous assessment. These programmes encourage students across the world to become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right.

INSERT Figure 2 here

The large shaded circle of Figure 2 represents a national education curriculum with an emphasis on national concerns. Within that circle, the smaller circle signifies a multicultural programme within the national education framework. The large unshaded circle is international education which overlaps with some non-multicultural education elements of a national system: for example, problem-solving at the local and global levels, communication skills, and critical thinking skills. International education also overlaps considerably with multicultural education, particularly in the area of intercultural understanding: respect for others, awareness of rights and responsibilities, understanding different cultural points of view, language learning. Some aspects of multicultural education focus on civics education and prejudice-reduction activities to increase educational opportunities for minority groups – these fall outside the province of international education and are therefore not encompassed by that circle. International education will include consideration of global issues such as sustainable development, the economic divide between nations, pollution, lack of fresh water – all concentrating on the interdependence of nations in arriving at mutually satisfactory solutions. Some national systems include similar or identical topics while others have very little in this regard, so the degree of overlap between international (as defined in this paper) and national education will vary with each national system.

What has become clear over the last decade is that, in general, they are merging as indicated by the direction of the arrows beneath the circles and this is not confined only to Western nations. The IB Organization experience, to cite just one example, with government systems in places such as Hong Kong, mainland China, Cambodia, Singapore, Morocco, the United Arab Emirates (particularly Dubai), parts of India, Ecuador and Chile, is that these governments wish to internationalise their state education systems and see IB programmes or IB-type programmes as one possible model. For example, under the terms of a contract with the Cambodian ministry of education the IB Organization has been, in collaboration with Cambodian education experts, implementing an IB –type pedagogy and curriculum, carefully adapted to the local needs and resources, and respecting cultural mores, for all of the country's primary education system; this is being accomplished through an intense programme of training of the teachers college lecturers in primary education and many teacher training workshops. In 2005 the IB Organization, at the request of the Hong Kong ministry of education, undertook an exercise to benchmark subjects comprising their secondary leaving certificate in terms of content, academic rigour and international focus. Given this tangible interest of an increasing number of national systems to internationalise their programmes, the overlap of the circles is likely to be greater in another twenty or thirty

years. It is not inconceivable that international and national education become one and the same in some countries in the future.

"International education" is a term consistently used although not always consistently defined, unlike the term "multicultural education" which is consistently defined but not always consistently used.

Intercultural understanding – the common objective
International education as conceived for international schools pays little attention to the issues of a pluralist society within a national system. It emphasizes a supra-national view where the interdependence of nations is fundamental to global cooperation; it proposes a curriculum of international understanding necessary to achieve world peace. But there is overlap: an important part of international understanding promotes respect for other cultures and for human rights so that international education "dovetails into peace education as well as multicultural education" (Husén & Postlethwaite 1994a, p2972).

Multicultural education and international education have similarities; it is the context which provides for the different orientations. The former emphasises growing up in a foreign country. This is the starting point. It attempts to integrate immigrants into a national system and at the same time to mould that system so that it "does not distinguish between natives and foreigners" (Portera 1998, p217). International education, on the other hand, seeks to integrate students into an <u>international</u> system where differences in culture are the norm. It places an emphasis on a curriculum and teaching approach which will develop skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary to function effectively as citizens of the world. The IB diploma programme started principally in international schools (representing only 20% of all IB schools in 2006, based on the definition of "international school" in this paper) and has since been taken up by many state and national private schools, whereas multicultural education is particularly aimed at state schools.

There is more consonance between the two when we move from the context to which they refer (because international education programmes are now taught in a number of national schools) to the way they would like to shape individuals. Education towards democracy, pluralism, human rights, environmental awareness, and peace and conflict resolution (Portera 1998, p215-217) are to be found in both multicultural and international education. Fennes & Hapgood (1997 p157) remark "'International schools' increasingly use the multicultural composition of their classes for intercultural ["multicultural"] and international education. In fact, these schools can serve as a 'laboratory' for intercultural learning." The reverse is also true: strategies used in national schools to promote intercultural understanding are of relevance to international schools. These multicultural education strategies include:
- *content integration* or the extent to which the teacher incorporates examples from a variety of cultures to illustrate concepts
- *building an empowering school culture* in which equality of opportunity exists for students from all ethnic groups
- *prejudice reduction* whereby characteristics of racial attitudes can be described to develop intercultural understanding and respect (Troutman *et. al.* 1998, p168-170)
- *complex instruction* based on open-ended tasks revolving around a central concept where multiple intelligences and different cultural origins will bring enriching perceptions. For a particular task the teacher delegates authority to the students through cooperative rules and roles so that they can interact with each other as a

source of learning based on their experiences (Ernalsteen 2001 pp74-75). Gardner's (1999) "personal intelligence," which includes sensitivity towards others, is particularly relevant here.

Understanding of and respect for other cultural viewpoints and behaviour is intrinsic to the promotion of intercultural understanding which both systems wish to achieve for different purposes: in multicultural education it is to facilitate integration into the national system whereas in international education it is to appreciate world issues and how they might be solved given the importance of interdependence between nations, cultures and individuals. The needs are distinctly national and international respectively - put another way, national peace and international peace - but beyond these orientations the final ideologies converge. The Wilkinsons (2001 p10), who have been in international education throughout their careers, rightly point out that "the goal of peace between nations cannot be separated from that of peace within nations." Individuals who learn to accommodate and appreciate other cultures will contribute positively in both national and international contexts. In any case, international education, through practice and despite the word "international", includes an understanding of the human condition at the local as well as international level. The compulsory community service activities of IB World Schools is a good example.

Students work with refugee families to reinforce the language of the host country and to provide moral support: IB schools in the developing world (or visiting from abroad) assist local schools and villages with books, materials, taking lessons, and inviting local students and teachers into the IB school to integrate with the students who may be ex-patriates. In a number of schools IB students provide weekly survival (literacy and numeracy) and recreational programmes for street children in both developed and developing countries. Students in an IB school in Uganda, in collaboration with UNICEF, addressed the global issue of AIDS through local action. They gave weekly, moral support to families with HIV positive parents, building up memory banks of the family history and values, recording the parents on tape; this will then be available to the children after the parents have died. Through these kinds of activities community service contributes quite intimately to international understanding, the mark of world citizenship.

Intercultural understanding is the common objective which should bring multicultural and international education scholars together; these groups have tended to act independently of each other. It is only quite recently that evidence of interaction between these fields has appeared. Mary Hayden (2001) at the University of Bath, UK has published and spoken widely in the field of international education. In attempting to define the latter term she explored definitions of multicultural education, intercultural education and cosmopolitanism and remarked helpfully that pragmatic and ideological dimensions of intercultural understanding were to be found in all of them. Hayden makes reference to authors associated with multicultural education; for example, her paper indicates that intercultural learning does not imply necessarily accepting others' values but "acquiring the flexibility of seeing them as they are in the context of another cultural filter, not through one's own ethnocentred frame" (Fennes & Hapgood 1997 p48).

Fennes & Hapgood (1997) proposed a continuum for intercultural understanding beginning with ethnocentrism, then moving through the stages of awareness, understanding, acceptance and respect, appreciation and valuing, to arrive at intercultural competence. Chapman & Hobbel's hierarchy of multicultural learning delineates five stages of intercultural

understanding as in Figure 1 above. The similarity between both these hierarchies of learning by writers on multicultural education bears a striking resemblance to that proposed by Heyward (2002 p16-17) writing from an international education perspective. Heyward's model of "intercultural literacy" also has five stages commencing with three monocultural levels followed by emerging intercultural literacy and culminating in transcultural competence. Table 1 compares the three perspectives.

Multicultural (Fennes & Hapgood (1997))	*Multicultural* (Chapman & Hobbel 2005)	*International* (Heyward 2002)
1. awareness	1. monoculturalism	1. limited awareness (monoculture I)
2. understanding	2. tolerance	2. naïve awareness (monoculture II)
3. acceptance and respect	3. acceptance	3. engagement-distancing (monoculture III)
4. appreciation & valuing	4. respect	4. emerging intercultural literacy
5. intercultural competence	5. affirmation & solidarity	5. transcultural competence

Table 1. Comparison of multicultural and international education perspectives on learning for intercultural understanding

It is not the purpose of this paper to explore, analyse and compare the exact nature of each of the stages above. The purpose is to demonstrate that the thinking about this concept is very similar in both multicultural and international education literature and practice, yet the authors and their literature references remain quite distinct. Heyward (2002 p15) even uses multicultural education terminology although he speaks from an international school and international education point of view: "Casting the process [of intercultural literacy] in terms of learning rather than adaptation or acculturation, it assumes an empowering additive process with an idealized end point of integrated pluralism." Note that Chapman & Hobbel (see Figure 1) start with "assimilation" (cf Heyward's "acculturation") and culminate with pluralism which they regard as "emancipatory". Heyward's multidimensional model (highly simplified above but faithful to the original) terminates with an "unconsciously competent" transcultural level of competence – having attained a freer more natural state than the preceding level of "consciously competent" intercultural literacy.

Conclusion
It is time that scholars and practitioners of multicultural and intercultural education joined forces in their efforts to promote intercultural understanding, the main objective of each type of education. They share similar learning objectives such as overcoming ethnocentrism, promoting language learning, empathizing with other cultures. Both agree that intercultural understanding assumes no hierarchy of cultures and that (as "inter"suggests) intercultural understanding is a two-way process between cultures, not a one-way street.

A symbiotic relationship between scholars and practitioners in these two disciplines would be in line with the narrowing of the differences between national and international education. The potential for the two large circles in Figure 2 to virtually become one is not an unrealistic expectation for the future, particularly if those in the fields exchange experiences and work

together. It is curious how the organizers of conferences in either of the fields almost never invite any recognised proponents from the other and this is also reflected in the literature. Historically the fields have developed independently – multicultural education from the standpoint of national school needs and international education from the standpoint of international school needs - whereas there is potential to benefit from the research and experience gained by sharing each other's work.

Researchers might consider exploring the similarities and differences between practice in multicultural and international education with a view to fruitful cross-fertilisation of ideas and approaches. For example, intercultural education strategies for use in national schools could be tested for appropriateness in international schools and in national schools with international education programmes. What is transferable from international education (as practised in both national and international schools) to multicultural education which would assist in eliminating the idea of "foreign-ness"? Are there factors assisting intercultural understanding beyond the simple presence of many nationalities which have yet to be discovered? What nuances exist between the definitions of intercultural understanding as practised in multicultural education and international education and how can they complement each other?

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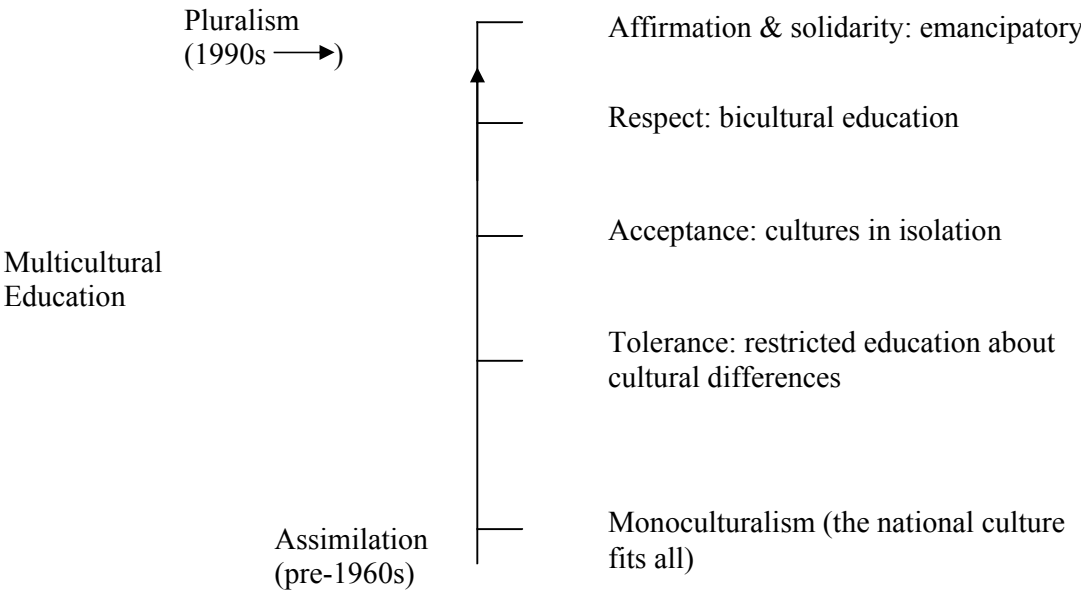
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18/08/06

Pluralism
(1990s ⟶)

Affirmation & solidarity: emancipatory

Respect: bicultural education

Acceptance: cultures in isolation

Multicultural
Education

Tolerance: restricted education about
cultural differences

Monoculturalism (the national culture
fits all)

Assimilation
(pre-1960s)

Figure 1 Multicultural education continuum from assimilation to pluralism
(Adapted from Chapman & Hobbel's 2005 p299 chart summarising typologies
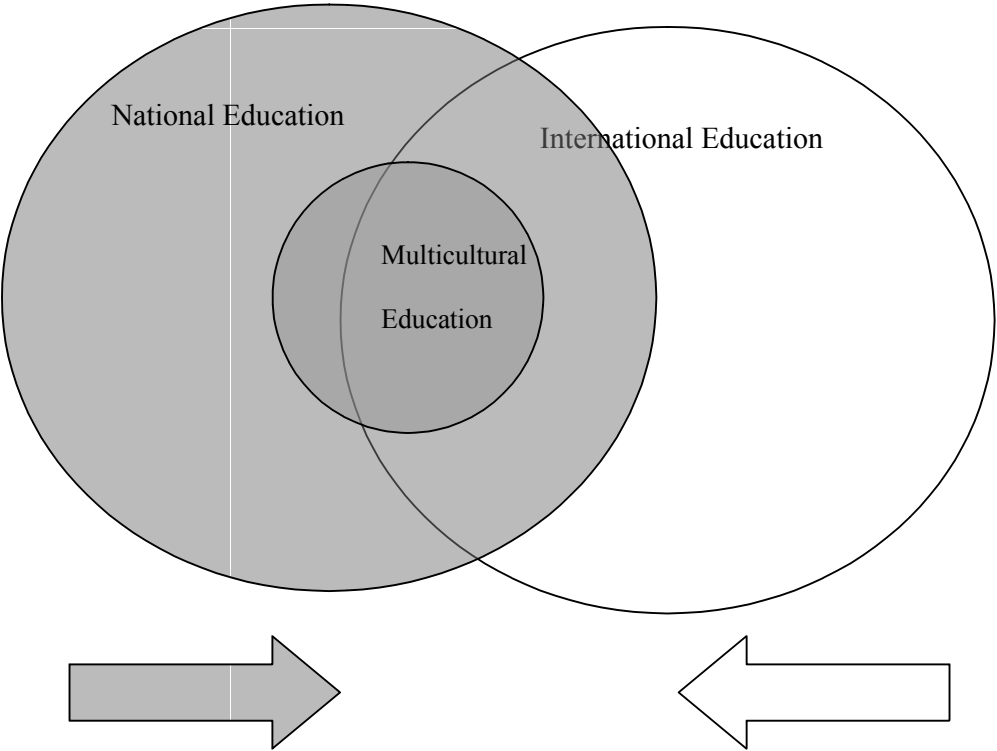of multicultural education)

National Education

International Education

Multicultural

Education

Figure 2 Intersection of three types of education in 2006

Ilh/publications/Hill multi-inter Figure 1